

Rev O B Brown

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Colonization and Missions.

WE continue the publication of "Colonization and Missions," by Rev. Joseph Tracy, which was commenced in the January number. We hope our readers will not fail to bestow upon it a candid, careful and continuous perusal. We shall complete it in our next number, and then they will be fully in possession of an unanswerable argument in favor of the splendid enterprise of colonization. The signal manner in which all efforts to establish missions in Africa have failed, the insuperable obstacles which lie in the way of doing any thing apart from colonization, and the fair promise which Liberia shows of perpetuity and growing enlargement, and the great facilities which it affords for operating upon then ative tribes, far in the interior, are all so many powerful inducements to the friends of missions and well-wishers of our race, to rally around this Society, and bestow upon it an enlarged support, and enable

it to perform the vast and important work which it now has on hand. Let all remember that every day's delay, is a real and substantial loss to Africa and humanity. How many of her 150,000,000 of heathens will perish from the earth before another number of our publication, with its appeals and its arguments "strong as holy writ," reaches our many friends? How soon will the destiny of millions of them be fixed? And our days, too, how rapidly they pass! How important that "we do with our might, whatsoever our hands find to do."

PART II.

Discovery of Guinea.—Rise, progress and influence of the Slave Trade.—Prevalence and influence of Piracy.—Character of the natives before the influence of Colonization was felt.

We shall not dwell upon the full length portraits of negroes on Egyptian monuments three thousand years old, because their interpretation might

be disputed ; though their dress, their attitudes, their banjos, and every indication of character, show that they were then substantially what they are now. We shall pass over Ethiopian slaves in Roman and Carthaginian history ; because it might be difficult to prove that they came from the region under consideration. We will begin with Ibn Haukal, the Arabian Geographer, who wrote while the Saracen Ommaides ruled in Spain, and before the founding of Cairo in Egypt ; that is, between A. D. 902 and 968.

Ibn Haukal very correctly describes the "land of the blacks," as an extensive region, with the Great Desert on the north, the coast of the ocean to the south, and not easily accessible, except from the west ; and as inhabited by people whose skins are of a finer and deeper black than that of any other blacks. He mentions the trade from the land of the blacks, through the western part of the Great Desert, to Northern Africa, in gold and slaves ; which found their way thence to other Muhammedan regions. "The white slaves," he says, "come from Andalus," [Spain,] "and damsels of great value, such as are sold for a thousand dinars, or more."*

Ibn Batuta, of Tangier, after returning from his travels in the east, visited Tombuctoo, and other Muhammedan places on the northern border of the negro country, in 1352. The pagans beyond them enslaved each other, sold each other to the Muhammedans, or were enslaved by them, as has been done ever since. Some of them, he learned, were cannibals ; and when one of the petty monarchs sent an embassy to another, a fatted slave, ready to be killed and eaten, was a most acceptable present.

Of Christian nations, the French claim the honor of first discovering the coast of Guinea. It is said that the records of Dieppe, in Normandy, show an agreement of certain merchants of that place and Rouen, in the year 1365, to trade to that coast. Some place the commencement of that trade as early as 1346. Having traded along the Grain coast, and made establishments at Grand Sesters and other places, they doubled Cape Palmas, explored the coast as far as Elmina, and commenced a fortress there in 1383. In 1387, Elmina was enlarged, and a chapel built. The civil wars about the close of that century were injurious to commerce. In 1413, the

* This expression must not be taken too strictly. Sicily also furnished many Christian slaves, and others were obtained from other parts of Europe. Since the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the Muhammedans of Northern Africa have been able to obtain but few Christian slaves, except by piracy. They however continued to do what they could. Their corsairs, principally from Algiers on the Barbary coast, and Salee on the western coast of Morocco, seized the vessels and enslaved the crews of all Christian nations trading in those seas. To avoid it, nearly, if not quite, all the maritime nations of Christendom paid them an annual tribute. The United States, we believe, was the first nation that refused to pay this tribute ; and this refusal led to wars with Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers. Several European powers have since followed our example. In 1815, the Emperor of Morocco stipulated by treaty, that British subjects should no longer be made slaves in his dominions. Several of the southern powers of Europe still pay this tribute ; and while we have been preparing these pages for the press, negotiations have been going on with Morocco, for releasing one or two of the northern powers from its payment. At this day, the Turks and Persians obtain "black slaves" from the interior of Africa, by the way of Nubia and Egypt, and by sea from Zeila and Berbera, near the outlet of the Red Sea, and from the Zanzibar coast. According to Sir T. F. Buxton, this branch of the slave trade consumes 100,000 victims annually, half of whom live to become serviceable. White slaves, mostly "damsels of great value," they procure from Circassia and other regions around Mount Caucasus.

company found its stock diminishing, and gradually abandoned the trade, till only their establishment on the Senegal was left. There are some circumstances which give plausibility to this account; yet it is doubted by some writers, even in France, and generally disbelieved or neglected by others.

The account of the discovery by the Portuguese is more authentic; and its origin must be narrated with some particularity.

During the centuries of war between the Christians of Spain and their Moorish invaders and oppressors, an order of knights was instituted, called "The Order of Christ." Its object was, to maintain the war against the Moors, and also "to conquer and convert all who denied the truth of their holy religion." To this, the knights were consecrated by a solemn vow. Henry of Lorraine was rewarded for his services in these wars with the gift of Portugal, and of whatever else he should take from the Moors. Under his descendants, Portugal became a kingdom, and John I., having expelled or slaughtered the last of the Moors in his dominions, passed into Africa and took Ceuta in 1415. He was attended in this expedition by his son, Henry, Duke of Viseo, and Grand Master of the Order of Christ. Henry distinguished himself during the siege; remained sometime in Africa to carry on the war, and learned that beyond the Great Desert as the country of the Senegal and the Jaloffs. With the double design of conquering infidels and finding a passage to India by sea, having already pushed his discoveries to Cape Bojador, he obtained a bull from Pope Martin V., granting to the Portuguese an exclusive right in all the islands they al-

ready possessed, and also in all territories they might in future discover, from Cape Bojador to the East Indies. The Pope also granted a plenary indulgence to the souls of all who might perish in the enterprise, and in recovering the nations of those regions to Christ and his church. And certainly, few indulgencies have been granted to souls that had more need of them.

The Portuguese laity were at first averse to an enterprise which appeared rash and useless; but the clergy rose up in its favor, and bore down all opposition. Ships were fitted out, and after some failures, Gilianez doubled Cape Bojador in 1432. In 1434, Alonzo Gonzales explored the coast for thirty leagues beyond. In 1435, he sailed along twenty-four leagues further. In an attempt to seize a party of natives, some were wounded, on both sides. In 1440, Antonio Gonzales made the same voyage, seized about ten of the natives, all Moors, and brought them away.* Nunno Tristan discovered Cape Blanco. In 1442, Antonio Gonzales returned to the coast, and released one of the Moors, formerly carried away, on his promise to pay seven Guinea slaves for his ransom. The promise was not fulfilled; but two other Moors ransomed themselves for several blacks of different countries and some gold dust. The place was hence called Rio del Oro, (Gold River,) and is nearly under the Tropic of Cancer. In 1443, Nunno Tristan discovered Arguin, and caught 14 blacks. In 1444, Gilianez and others, in six caravels, seized 195 blacks, most of whom were Moors, near Arguin, and were well rewarded by their prince. In 1445, Gonzales de Cintra, with seven of his men, were killed 14 leagues be-

* The common statement, that the first slaves were brought home by Alonzo Gonzales, in 1434, appears to be an error.

yond Rio del Oro, by 200 Moors. In 1446, Antonio Gonzales was sent to treat with the Moors at Rio del Oro, concerning peace, commerce, and their conversion to Christianity. They refused to treat. Nunno Tristan brought away 20 slaves. Denis Fernandez passed by the Senegal, took four blacks in a fishing boat, and discovered Cape Verde. In 1447, Antonio Gonzales took 25 Moors near Arguin, and took 55 and killed others at Cape Blanco. Da Gram took 54 at Arguin, ran eight leagues further and took 50 more, losing seven men. Lancelot and others, at various places, killed many and took about 180, of whom 20, being allies treacherously seized, were afterwards sent back. Nunno Tristan entered the Rio Grande, where he and all his men but four were killed by poisoned arrows. Alvaro Fernandez, 40 leagues beyond, had two battles with the natives, in one of which he was wounded. Gilianez and others were defeated with the loss of five men at Cape Verde, made 48 slaves at Arguin, and took two women and killed seven natives at Palma. Gomez Perez, being disappointed in the ransom of certain Moors at Rio del Oro, brought away 80 slaves.

Thus far from Portuguese historians. Next, let us hear the accounts which voyagers give of their own doings and discoveries. The oldest whose works are extant, and one of the most intelligent and trustworthy, is Aluise de Cada Mosto, a Venetian in the service of Portugal.

Cada Mosto sailed in 1455. He found the people around Cape Blanco and Arguin, Muhammedans. He calls them Arabs. They traded with Barbary, Tombuctoo and the negroes. They get from ten to eighteen negroes for a Barbary horse. From 700 to 800 annually are brought to Arguin and sold to the Portuguese.

Formerly, the Portuguese used to land by night, surprise fishing villages and country places, and carry off Arabs. They had also seized some of the Azenaghi, who are a tawny race, north of Senegal, and who make better slaves than the negroes; but, as they are not confirmed Muhammedans, Don Henry had hopes of their conversion, and had made peace with them. South of the Senegal are the Jaloffs, who are savages, and extremely poor. Their king lives by robbery, and by forcing his subjects and others into slavery. He sells slaves to the Azenaghi, Arabs and Christians. Both sexes are very lascivious, and they are exceedingly addicted to sorcery. A little south of Cape Verde, he found negroes who would suffer no chief to exist among them, lest their wives and children should be taken and sold for slaves, "as they are in all other negro countries, that have kings and lords." They used poisoned arrows, "are great idolaters, without any law, and extremely cruel." Further on, he sent on shore a baptized negro as an interpreter, who was immediately put to death. He entered the Gambia, and was attacked by the natives in 15 canoes. After a battle, in which one negro was killed, they consented to a parley. They told him they had heard of the dealings of white men on the Senegal; knew that they bought negroes only to eat; would have no trade with them, but would kill them and give their goods to their king. He left the river and returned. The next year he entered the Gambia again, and went up about 40 miles. He staid eleven days, made a treaty with Battimansa, bought some slaves of him, and left the river because the fever had seized his crew. He found some Muhammedan traders there; but the people were idolaters, and great believers in sorcery. They

never go far from home by water, for fear of being seized as slaves. He coasted along to the Kasamansa and Rio Grande; but finding the language such as none of his interpreters could understand, returned to Portugal.

In 1461, the Portuguese began to take permanent possession, by erecting a fort at Arguin.

In 1462, Piedro de Cintra discovered Sierra Leone, Gallinas river,—which he called Rio del Fumi, because he saw nothing but smoke there—Cape Mount, and Cape Mesurado, where he saw many fires among the trees, made by the negroes who had sight of the ships, and had never seen such things before. Sixteen miles further along the coast, a few natives came off in canoes, two or three in each. They were all naked, had some wooden darts and small knives, two targets and three bows; had rings about their ears and one in the nose, and teeth strung about their necks, which seemed to be human. Such is our earliest notice of what is now Liberia. The teeth were those of slaughtered enemies, worn as trophies. The account of this voyage was written by Cada Mosto.

In 1463, Don Henry died, and the Guinea trade, which had been his property, passed into the hands of the king. He farmed it, for five years, to Fernando Gomez, for 500 ducats, and an obligation to explore 500 additional leagues of coast. In 1471, Juan de Santerem and Pedro de Escobar explored the Gold Coast, and discovered Rio del Oro del Mina; that is, Gold Mine River, which afterwards gave name to the fortress of Elmina.

In 1481, two Englishmen, John Tintam and William Fabian, began to fit out an expedition to Guinea; but John II., of Portugal, sent two ambassadors to England, to insist on

his own exclusive claims to that country, and the voyage was given up.

The same year, the king of Portugal sent ten ships, with 500 soldiers and 100, or as some say, 200 laborers, and a proper complement of priests as missionaries, to Elmina. They arrived, and on the 19th of January, landed and celebrated the first mass in Guinea. Prayer was offered for the conversion of the natives, and the perpetuity of the church about to be founded.

In 1484, John II. invited the powers of Europe to share with him the expense of these discoveries, and of "making conquests on the infidels," which tended to the common benefit of all; but they declined. He then obtained from the Pope a bull, confirming the former grant to Portugal, of all the lands they should discover from Cape Bojador to India, forbidding other nations to attempt discoveries in those parts of the world, and decreeing that if they should make any, the regions so discovered should belong to Portugal. From this time, the king of Portugal, in addition to his other titles, styled himself "Lord of Guinea."

The same year, Diego Cam passed the Bight of Benin, discovered Congo, and explored the coast to the twenty-second degree of south latitude. In a few years, a treaty was made with the king of Congo, for the conversion of himself and his kingdom. The king and several of the royal family were baptized; but on learning that they must abandon polygamy, nearly all renounced their baptism. This led to a war, which ended in their submission to Rome.

About the same time, the king of Benin applied for missionaries, hoping thereby to draw Portuguese trade to his dominions. "But they being sent, the design was discovered not to be religion, but covetousness.

For these heathens bought christened slaves ; and the Portuguese, with the same avarice, sold them after being baptized, knowing that their new masters would oblige them to return to their old idolatry. This scandalous commerce subsisted till the religious king John III. forbade it, though to his great loss." Such was the character of the Portuguese in Guinea.

And here, for the sake of placing these events in their true connection with the history of the world, it may be well to state, that in 1486, Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope ; and in 1492, Columbus made his first voyage to America. In 1493, May 2, Pope Alexander, "out of his pure liberality, infallible knowledge and apostolic power," granted to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, all countries inhabited by infidels, which they had discovered or might discover, on condition of their planting and propagating there the Christian faith. Another bull, issued the next day, decreed that a line drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores, and extending from pole to pole, should divide the claims of Spain from those of Portugal ; and in June, 1494, another bull removed this line of demarcation to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. In 1492, Vasco de Gama succeeded in reaching India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Thenceforth, the more splendid atrocities of the East and West Indies threw those on the coast of Guinea into the shade, and historians have recorded them with less minuteness ; so that, from this time, we are unable to give names and dates with the same precision as heretofore. We know, however, that they continued to extend their intercourse with the natives, and their possessions along the coast.

It was some time previous to 1520, that one Bemoi came to Portugal,

representing himself as the rightful king of the Jaloffs, and requesting aid against his rivals. To obtain it, he submitted to baptism, with twenty-four of his followers, and agreed to hold his kingdom as a fief of Portugal. Pedro Vaz de Cunna was sent out, with twenty caravels well manned and armed, to assist him, and to build a fort at the mouth of the Senegal. The fort was commenced ; but Pedro found some pretext for quarrelling with Bemoi, and stabbed him to the heart. Intercourse, however, was soon established extensively with the Jaloffs, the Foulahs, and other races in that region ; of whom the Portuguese, settling in great numbers among them, became the virtual lords. We find them subsequently in possession of forts or trading houses, or living as colonists, at the Rio Grande, Sierra Leone, probably at Gallinas, Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado, certainly at the Junk, Sestos and Sangwin on the coast of Liberia, at Cape Three Points, Axim, Elmina, and numerous other places on the Ivory, Gold and Slave Coasts. So universally predominant was their influence, that in the course of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese became the common language of business, and was every where generally understood by such natives as had intercourse with foreigners. A few Portuguese words, such as "pala-ver," "fetish," and perhaps some others, remain in current use among the natives to this day.

Of the character of the Portuguese on the coast, some judgment may be formed from what has already been stated. It seems rapidly to have grown worse and worse. It was a place of banishment for criminals, convicted of various outrages, violence and robbery ; a place where fugitives from justice sought and found a refuge ; a place where adventurers,

who hated the restraints of law, sought freedom and impunity. "No wonder, therefore," says a writer who had been at Elmina, "that the histories of those times give an account of unparalleled violence and inhumanities perpetrated at the place by the Portuguese, whilst under their subjection, not only against the natives and such Europeans as resorted thither, but even amongst themselves." Bad as the native character originally was, Portuguese influence added rapidly to its atrocity. A series of wars, which commenced among them about this time, illustrates the character of both.

In 1515, or as some say, in 1505, the Cumbas from the interior, began to make plundering incursions upon the Capez, about Sierra Leone. The Cumbas were doubtless a branch of the Giagas, another division of whom emigrated, twenty or thirty years later, to the upper region on the Congo river, and there founded

the kingdom of Ansiko, otherwise called Makoko, whose king ruled over thirteen kingdoms. "Their food," says Rees' Cyclopaedia, Art. Ansiko, "is said to be human flesh, and human bodies are hung up for sale in their shambles. Conceiving that they have an absolute right to dispose of their slaves at pleasure, their prisoners of war are fattened, killed and eaten, or sold to butchers." Specimens of this cannibal race, from near the same region, have shown themselves within a very few years. The Cumbas, on invading the Capez, were pleased with the country, and resolved to settle there. They took possession of the most fertile spots, and cleared them of their inhabitants, by killing and eating some, and selling others to the Portuguese, who stood ready to buy them. In 1678, that is, 163 years or more from its commencement, this war was still going on.*

The trade in slaves received a new

* These Giagas form one of the most horribly interesting subjects for investigation, in all history. In Western Africa, they extended their ravages as far south as Benguela. Their career in that direction seems to have been arrested by the Great Desert, sparsely peopled by the Demaras and Namaquas, extending from Benguela to the Orange River, and presenting nothing to plunder. In 1586, the missionary Santos found them at war with the Portuguese settlements on the Zambeze. He describes their ravages, but without giving dates, along the eastern coast for a thousand miles northward to Melinda, where they were repulsed by the Portuguese. Antonio Fernandez, writing from Abyssinia in 1609, mentions an irruption of the Galae, who are said to be the same people, though some dispute their identity. These Galae, "a savage nation, begotten of devils, as the vulgar report," he informs us, issued from their forests and commenced their ravages a hundred years before the date of his letter; that is, about the time of the invasion of Sierra Leone by the Cumbas. We find no express mention of their cannibalism; but in other respects they seem closely to resemble the Giagas. Thus we find them, from the commencement of the sixteenth century far into the seventeenth, ravaging the continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and through thirty degrees of latitude. As to their original location, accounts differ. Some place it back of the northern part of Liberia. This was evidently one region from which they emigrated. Their migrations hence to Sierra Leone on the north, and Congo and Benguela on the south, are recorded facts. Here, under the name of Mani, Manez, or Monou, though comparatively few in numbers, they exercised a supremacy over and received tribute from the Quajos, the Folgias, and all the maritime tribes from Sierra Leone almost to Cape Palmas. East of Cape Palmas, their cannibalism and general ferocity marked the character of the people quite down to the coast, especially along what was called the Malegentes (Bad People) and Quaqua coasts. The testimony is conclusive, that the Cumbas who invaded Sierra Leone, and the Giagas of Ansiko and Benguela, were from this region. According to other accounts, their origin was in the region on the eastern slope of the continent, from the upper waters of the Nile and the borders of Abyssinia, extending southward across the equator. In most regions, they appeared merely as roving banditti, remaining in a country only long enough to reduce it to desolation. Every where the Giagas them-

impulse about this time, from the demand for them in the Spanish West Indies. They had been introduced into those colonies, at least as early as 1503; and the trade was encouraged by edicts of Ferdinand V. in 1511, and of Charles V. in 1515. At the close of the century, this trade was immense. Portuguese residents bought the slaves of the natives, or procured them otherwise, and sold them to Spanish traders, who carried them to the West Indies.

The Protestants of England and Holland felt little respect for the Pope's grant of all Western Africa to Portugal; and even the French soon learned to disregard it.

The English took the lead. In 1551, and again in 1552, Thomas Windham visited the coast of Morocco. The Portuguese threatened him, that, if found again in those seas, he

and his crew should be treated as "mortal enemies." Nothing daunted by these threats, he sailed again the next year. He took a Portuguese partner as a guide, and visited the whole coast from the river Sestos to Benin. In 1554, Capt. John Lok, with three ships, reached the coast at Cape Mesurado, sailed along it nearly or quite to Benin, and brought home "certain black slaves," the first, so far as appears, ever brought to England. From this time, voyages appear to have been made annually, and sometimes several in a year, always in armed ships, and attended with more or less fighting with the Portuguese, the natives, or both. In 1564, David Carlet, attempted to trade with the negroes near Elmina. The negroes, hired and instructed by the Portuguese, first secured their confidence, and

selves few, but had numerous followers, who were of the same ferocious character. Every where, except perhaps among the Galae, they had the same practice of making scars on their faces by way of ornament. Every where they practiced the same cannibalism. On taking the city of Quiloa, a little south of Zanzibar, they butchered "three thousand Moors, for future dainties, to eat at leisure." Every where their religion was substantially the same, consisting mainly in worshipping the devil when about to commence an expedition. They had various names, some of which have been already mentioned. In the east, they were also called Mumbos, Zimbas, and Muzimbas. In the same region, and the vicinity of Congo, they were also called Jagges, Gagas, Giachi, and it was said, called themselves Agags. Compare, also, of terms still in use, the Gallas, a savage people on the south of Abyssinia, who are doubtless the Galae of Fernandez; the Golahs, formerly written Galas, north east of Monrovia, in the Monou region, of whose connection with the Giagas, however, there appears to be no other evidence; and the Mumbo Jumbo, or fictitious devil, with whom the priests overawe the superstitious in the whole region south of the Gambia. Their followers, in eastern Africa, were called Caffres; but perhaps the word was used in its original Arabic sense, as meaning infidels. Near the Congo, their followers were called Ansikos, and their principal chief, "the great Makoko," which some have mistaken for a national designation. Here, also, Imbe was a title of office among them, while in the east it was applied to the whole people. In Angola they were called Gindae. Whether any traces of them still remain in Eastern Africa, or around Congo and Benguela, we are too ignorant of those regions to decide. In the region of Liberia, there can be no doubt on the subject. American missionaries at Cape Palmas have seen and conversed with men from the interior, who avow without hesitation their fondness for human flesh, and their habit of eating it. On the Cavally river, the eastern boundary of Cape Palmas, the cannibal region begins some twenty, thirty or forty miles from the coast, and extends northward, in the rear of Liberia, indefinitely. Farther east, it approaches and perhaps reaches the coast. In this region, prisoners of war and sometimes slaves are still slain for food. Here, too, slaves are sacrificed at the ratification of a treaty, and trees are planted to mark the spot and serve as records of the fact. Such trees have been pointed out to our missionaries, by men who were present when they were planted. Compare, too, the human sacrifices of Ashantee and Dahomey, and the devil-worship of all Western Africa. But after all, were the Giagas one race of men, as cotemporary historians supposed? Or were they men of a certain character, then predominant through nearly all Africa, south of the Great Desert?

then betrayed Carlet, a merchant who accompanied him, and twelve of his crew, to the Portuguese, as prisoners. This mode of employing the negroes now became a common practice. In 1590, "about 42" Englishmen were taken or slain and their goods seized by the Portuguese and negroes combined at Portudal and Joal, on the coast of the Jaloffs. Captains Rainolds and Dassel, who were there the next year, detected a similar conspiracy against themselves, said by the chief conspirator to be authorized by the king of Portugal. In 1588, the African Company was incorporated.

The French, we have seen, profess to have been the first traders to the coast of Guinea, and to have always retained their post at the Senegal. Rainolds found, in 1591, that they had been there more than thirty years, and were in good repute. The Spaniards, on the contrary, were detested; and as for the Portuguese, "most of them were banished men, or fugitives from justice; men of the basest behavior that he and the rest of the English had ever seen of these nations."

In 1578, the French were trading at Accra, on the Gold coast. The negroes in the vicinity, at the instigation of the Portuguese, destroyed the town. There was then a standing offer, from the Portuguese to the negroes, of 100 crowns for a Frenchman's head. In 1582, the Portuguese sunk a French ship, and made slaves of all the crew who escaped a watery grave.

There is no account of the Dutch on this coast, till the voyage of Barent Erickson in 1595. The Portuguese offered to reward the negroes

if they would kill or betray him. They also offered a reward of 100 florins for the destruction of a Dutch ship. About the same time, a Dutch crew, with the exception of one or two men, was massacred at Cape Coast. Of another crew, three Dutchmen were betrayed by the negroes, and made slaves by the Portuguese at Elmina. In 1599, the negroes near Elmina, at the instigation of the Portuguese, inveigled five Dutchmen into their power, beheaded them, and in a few hours made drinking cups of their skulls.

But the English and Dutch continued to crowd in, and the Portuguese, who, after such atrocities, could not coexist with them on the same coast, were compelled to retire. In 1604, they were driven from all their factories in what is now Liberia. Instead of leaving the country, however, they retreated inland, established themselves there, intermarried with the natives, and engaged in commerce between the more inland tribes and the traders on the coast; making it a special object to prevent the produce of the interior from reaching the coast, except through their hands; and for this purpose they obstructed all efforts of others to explore the country. They traded with the people on the Niger; and one of their mulatto descendants told Villault, in 1666, that they traded along that river as far as Benin.* Their posterity gradually became merged and lost among the negro population; but the obstruction of intercourse with the interior became the settled policy of those tribes, and has done much to retard the growth of commerce in Liberia.

* As the Niger was then supposed by Europeans to flow westward and disembogue itself by the Senegal or Gambia, this statement was considered absurd; but since the discovery of the mouth of the Niger in Benin, there is reason to suppose it true. It ought to have led to an earlier discovery of the true course and outlet of that long mysterious river.

In other parts the Portuguese held possession some years longer. But the Dutch took their fort at Elmina in 1637, and that at Axim in 1642; after which they were soon expelled from the Gold and Ivory coasts. Before 1666, they had given place to the Dutch at Cape Mount, and to the English at Sierra Leone. In 1621, the English were trading in the Gambia, and in 1664, built James Fort near its mouth. Here also the Portuguese retired inland and mingled with the natives. Not many years since, some of their descendants were still to be found.

The influence of the English, Dutch and French, on the character of the natives, was in some respects different from that of the Portuguese; but whether it was on the whole any better, is a question of some difficulty. Portuguese writers assert that the Dutch gained the favor of the negroes by teaching them drunkenness and other vices; that they became absolute pirates, and seized and held several places on the coast, to which they had no right but that of the strongest.

The Dutch trade was, by law, exclusively in the hands of an incorporated company, having authority to seize and confiscate to its own use, the vessels and cargoes of private traders found on the coast. These private traders, or interlopers, as they were called, were frequently seized by stratagem by the Dutch garrisons on the coast, and treated with great severity. But they provided themselves with fast sailing ships, went well armed and manned, and generally fought to the last man, rather than be taken by the Company's forces. Captain Phillips, in 1693, found more than a dozen of these interlopers on the coast, and had seen four or five of them at a time lying before Elmina castle for a week together, trading, as it were, in defiance of it.

The English had also their incorporated company, and their private traders. Of the character of the latter, we find no specification which dates in this century. In 1721, there were about thirty of them settled on the "starboard side" of the bay of Sierra Leone. Atkins describes them as "loose, privateering blades, who, if they cannot trade fairly with the natives, will rob. Of these," he says, "John Leadstine, commonly called 'Old Cracker,' is reckoned the most thriving." This man, called Leadstone in Johnson's "History of the Pirates," had been an old buccanier, and kept two or three guns before his door, "to salute his friends the pirates when they put in there." Such, substantially, appears to have been the character of the English "private traders" upon this coast from the beginning. Of the regular traders, English and Dutch, a part, and only a part, seem to have been comparatively decent.

The influence of the pirates on this coast deserves a distinct consideration.

They appeared there occasionally, as early as the year 1600, and seem to have increased with the increase of commerce. For some years, the piratically disposed, appear to have found scope for the indulgence of their propensities, among the buccaniers of the West Indies. But after the partial breaking up of the buccaniers in 1688, and still more after their suppression in 1697, they spread themselves over the whole extent of the Atlantic and Indian oceans. The coast of Guinea was one of their principal haunts, and Sierra Leone a favorite resort. They not only plundered at sea, but boldly entered any port where the people, whether native or European, were not strong enough to resist them, and traded there on their own terms. In 1693, Phillips found that the governor of Porto Praya made it a

rule never to go on board any ship in the harbor, lest it should prove to be a pirate, and he should be detained till he had furnished a supply of provisions, for which he would be paid by a bill of exchange on some imaginary person in London. Avery, commonly known as "Long Ben," had thus extorted supplies from the governor of St. Thomas, and paid him by a bill on "the pump at Aldgate." At Cape Mesurado, Phillips found a Scotchman, of the crew of Herbert the pirate. The crew had quarrelled, all the rest were killed or afterwards died of their wounds, he ran the brigantine ashore near the Cape, and had since been living among the natives. Capt. Snelgrave arrived at Sierra Leone, April 1, 1719. He found three pirates in the harbor; Cocklyn, Le Bouse and Davis. They had lately taken ten English vessels. His first mate, Jones, betrayed him into their hands. He had with him a royal proclamation, offering pardon to all English pirates who should surrender themselves on or before the first of July. An old buccanier tore it in pieces. They took Snelgrave's vessel for their own use, leaving an inferior one for him, and left the bay about the 29th of the month. Afterwards, he tells us, that more than a hundred vessels fell into the hands of these pirates on the coast of Guinea, and some of the gang did immense damage in the West Indies. A few days after sailing, Davis took the Princess, of London, plundered her and let her go; but her second mate, Roberts, joined him. He landed at Prince's Island, where the Portuguese governor at first favored them, for the sake of their trade, but finally assassinated Davis. The crew then chose Roberts for their captain, whose exploits were still more atrocious.

The same year, England, the pirate, took an English vessel near

Sierra Leone, murdered the captain, Skinner, and gave her to Howell Harris, who, after trial and acquittal, obtained command of a merchant sloop and turned pirate. Having had "pretty good success" for a while, he attacked St. Jago, in the Cape Verde Islands, but was repulsed. He then took, plundered and destroyed, the English fort, St. James, at the mouth of the Gambia. The fort appears to have been partially rebuilt immediately. In 1721, the African Company sent out the Gambra Castle, Capt. Russel, with a company of soldiers under Maj. Massey, to strengthen it. The new governor, Whitney, had just arrived. Massey, with the assistance of Lowther, second mate, seized both the fort and the ship; and after cruising a while as a pirate, went home, brought on his own trial, and was hanged.

In 1721, Roberts, before mentioned, had become so formidable as to attract the notice of the English government. Two ships of 50 guns each were sent out to capture him. Atkins, surgeon of the squadron, has given an account of the cruise. At Elmina, in January, they found that Roberts had "made a bold sweep" in August, had taken a vessel a few leagues from that place, and had "committed great cruelties." His three ships were well manned, "seamen every where entering with them; and when they refused, it was oftener through fear, than any detestation of the practice." This shows what was then the general character of English seamen in that region, and what influence they must have exerted on the natives. January 15, they reached Whidah. The pirates had just plundered and ransomed eleven ships, and been gone twenty-four hours. They followed on to the south, and by the 12th of February, took all three of their ships; the crew of the last having abandoned it and fled. They

found on board about 300 Englishmen, 60 or 70 stout negroes, great plenty of trade goods, and eight or ten thousand pounds of gold dust. The trial of these pirates occupied the court at Cape Coast Castle twenty-six days; 52 were executed there, 74 acquitted, 20 condemned to servitude, and 17 sent to the Marshalsea.

The next year, Capt. Geo. Roberts was taken by three pirates, of whom Edmund Loe was the chief, at the Cape Verde Islands. While there, after Loe had gone, he fell in with Charles Franklin,* who had been taken some time before by Bartholomew Roberts, a pirate, had escaped from him at Sierra Leone, and taken refuge among the negroes in the interior.

The pirates seem generally to have been content with trading at Sierra Leone, without plundering the people; though Roberts took the place in 1720. They afterwards took permanent possession of the first bay below the Cape, and occupied it for seven years or more, till broken up by an expedition from France in 1730. Hence the place was called "Pirate's Bay," and was so named on British charts.

The moral influence of such a concentration of piracy upon the coast for nearly half a century, cannot be doubtful. The character of pirates, we know, has always been made up of remorseless ferocity, unscrupulous rapacity, and unbridled licentious-

ness. Perfectly versed in all the vices of civilization, restrained by no moral principle, by no feeling of humanity, by no sense of shame, they landed whenever and almost wherever they pleased upon the whole coast, with forces which it would have been madness to resist, and compelled the inhabitants, whether negro, European or mixed, to become the partners of their revels, the accomplices or dupes of their duplicity, or the victims of their violence. This, added to all the other malign influences at work upon the coast, gave such an education in evil, as probably was never inflicted on any other portion of the human race. A few statements of cotemporary writers may place this matter in a still clearer light. We will confine our remarks to what is now Liberia and its vicinity, where this tempest of evil seems to have fallen with special fury.

Even in the days of Portuguese ascendancy, the Mesurado river was called the Rio Duro, on account of the cruelty of the people.

Dapper, a Dutch writer, whose description of Africa was published about the year 1670, says of the Quojas, who were predominant from Sierra Leone to the Rio Sestos, that both sexes were extremely licentious, they were great thieves, and much addicted to witchcraft, in practising which they used real poisons. On the death of a chief, it was their practice to strangle one or two fe-

* This case is mentioned chiefly for the sake of introducing a note.—Franklin says that "these inlanders have a notion that the Bakkarau [whites] have a new world, where they intend to reside, which is inconceivably better than the old; but that there wants so much to be done to it, that it will be many ages before it can be made fit for their reception; that they send all the most valuable things from their old world thither, the labor of which is carried on by the negroes they yearly take out of Guinea; that all those blacks must work and slave very hard, without any intermission or redemption, until the new world is completely fitted up in a very beautiful manner, and the Bakkarau are all settled there. But when that is done, having no farther service for the blacks, they will send them home to inhabit this world, without ever being molested more by the whites, who will never come here again. This happy time they earnestly wish for."

Such was Franklin's statement to Roberts in 1722, published in London in 1726, and now transcribed from a copy printed in 1745. Is not Bakkarau about ready to spare them?

male slaves, to bury with him. From the Sestos to Cape Palmas, the people were much the same, but still more adroit at theft, and more addicted to witchcraft and devil-worship.

Barbot, agent general of the French African Company, was on the coast much of the time from 1680 to 1701. He says that the English had formerly a settlement at Sangwin, but abandoned it because of the ill temper of the blacks. At Bottowa, they are dexterous thieves, and ought to be well looked to in dealing with them.

Phillips,* in 1693, at Grand Sesters, thought it unsafe to go up the river eight miles to visit king Peter, hearing that the natives were very treacherous and bloody. The people whom he saw were surly, and looked like villains. Though his ship carried 36 guns, on learning the temper of the people, he immediately cleared for action and left the river.

Snoek was at Cape Mesurado in 1701. Only one negro came on board, and he saw but a few on shore. Two English ships had two months before ravaged their country, destroyed their canoes, plundered their houses, and carried off some of their people.

Bosman was on the coast about the same time. His description of Guinea, written in Dutch and translated into several languages, is one

of the best extant. "The negroes," he says, "are all, without exception, crafty, villainous, and fraudulent, and very seldom to be trusted; being sure to slip no opportunity of cheating a European, nor indeed one another." The mulattoes, he says, are "a parcel of profligate villains, neither true to the negroes nor us; nor indeed dare they trust one another; so that you rarely see them agree together. Whatever is in its own nature worst in the Europeans and negroes, is united in them." At some place, probably beyond Cape Palmas, he saw eleven human sacrifices at one funeral.

Marchais was at Cape Mesurado in 1724. He says that the English, Dutch and Portuguese writers all unite in representing the natives there as faithless, cunning, revengeful and cruel to the last degree; and he assents to the description. He adds, that "formerly they offered human sacrifices; but this custom has ceased since they found the profit of selling their prisoners of war to foreigners." He gives a map of the Cape, and the plan of a proposed fort on its summit; and thinks it might yield 1,500 or 2,000 slaves annually, besides a large amount of ivory.

At the river Sestos, Marchias witnessed a negro funeral. "The captain or chief of a village dying of a

* Phillips sailed in the employment of the English African Company, and was evidently one of the most humane, conscientious and intelligent voyagers to that coast. He found the people of the Quaqua coast, a little beyond Cape Palmas, to be cannibals, as most who visited them also testify. At Secondee, Johnson, the English factor, had been surprised in the night, cut in pieces, and his goods plundered by the negroes, at the instigation of the Dutch. At Whidah, Phillips bought for his two ships, 1,300 slaves. Twelve of them wilfully drowned themselves, and others starved themselves to death. He was advised to cut off the legs and arms of a few, to terrify the rest, as other captains had done; but he could not think of treating with such barbarity, poor creatures, who, being equally the work of God's hands, are doubtless as dear to Him as the whites. He saw the bodies of several eaten by the sharks which followed his ship. On arriving at Barbadoes, the ship under his immediate command, had lost "14 men and 320 negroes." On each dead negro, the African Company lost £10, and the ship lost the freight, £10 10s. He delivered alive 372, who sold, on an average, at about £19. Such was the slave trade, in its least horrible aspect, in 1693.

hard drinking bout of brandy, the cries of his wives immediately spread the news through the town. All the women ran there and howled like furies. The favorite wife distinguished herself by her grief, and not without cause." She was watched by the other women, to prevent her escape. The marbut, or priest, examined the body, and pronounced the death natural—not the effect of witchcraft. Then followed washing the body, and carrying it in procession through the village, with tearing of the hair, howling, and other frantic expressions of grief. "During this, the marbut made a grave, deep and large enough to hold two bodies. He also stripped and skinned a goat. The pluck served to make a ragout, of which he and the assistants ate. He also caused the favorite wife to eat some; who had no great inclination to taste it, knowing it was to be her last. She ate some, however; and during the repast, the body of the goat was divided in small pieces, broiled and eaten. The lamentations began again; and when the marbut thought it was time to end the ceremony, he took the favorite wife by the arms, and delivered her to two stout negroes. These, seizing her roughly, tied her hands and feet behind her, and laying her on her back, placed a piece of wood on her breast. Then, holding each other with their hands on their shoulders, they stamped with their feet on the piece of wood, till they had broken the woman's breast. Having thus at least half despatched her, they threw her into the grave, with the remainder of the goat, casting her husband's body over her, and filling up the grave with earth and stones. Immediately, the cries ceasing, a quick silence succeeded the noise, and every one retired home as quietly as if nothing had happened."

Smith was sent out by the African Company to survey the coast, in 1726. At Gallinas, in December, he found Benjamin Cross, whom the natives had seized and kept three months, in reprisal for some of their people, who had been seized by the English. Such seizures, he says, were too often practiced by Bristol and Liverpool ships. Cross was ransomed for about £50. At Cape Mount, he found the natives cautious of intercourse, for fear of being seized. At Cape Mesurado, in January, 1727, he saw many of the natives, but not liking to venture on shore, had no discourse with them.

In 1730, Snelgrave, who had been captured by pirates nine years before, was again on the coast. There was then not a single European factory on the whole Windward Coast, and Europeans were "shy of trusting themselves on shore, the natives being very barbarous and uncivilized." He never met a white man who durst venture himself up the country. He mentions the suspicions and revengeful feelings of the natives, occasioned by seizing them for slaves, as a cause of the danger. He, too, witnessed human sacrifices.

Such was the character of what is now Liberia, after 268 years of intercourse with slave traders and pirates.

Meanwhile, nations were treating with each other for the extension of the slave trade. The Genoese at first had the privilege of furnishing the Spanish colonies with negro slaves. The French next obtained it, and kept it till, according to Spanish official returns, it had yielded them \$204,000,000. In 1713, the British government, by the famous Assiento treaty, secured it for the South Sea Company for thirty years. In 1739, Spain was desirous to take the business into her own hands, and

England sold out the remaining four years for £100,000, to be paid in London in three months.*

From this time to 1791, when the British Parliament began to collect testimony concerning the slave trade, there seems to have been no important change in the influences operating on the coast, or in the character of its inhabitants. The collection and publication of testimony was continued till the passage, in 1807, of the act abolishing the trade. From this testimony, it appeared that nearly all the masters of English ships engaged in that trade, were of the most abandoned character, none too good to be pirates. Their cruelty to their own men was so excessive and so notorious, that crews could never be obtained without great difficulty, and seldom without fraud. Exciting the native tribes to make war on each other for the purpose of obtaining slaves, was a common practice. The Windward Coast, especially, was fast becoming depopulated. The Bassa country, and that on the Mesurado and Junk rivers, were particularly mentioned, as regions which had suffered in these wars; where the witnesses had seen the ruins of villages, lately surprised and burned in the night, and rice fields unharvested, because their owners had been seized and sold. On other parts of the coast, the slaves were collected, and kept for embarkation, in factories; but on the Windward Coast, "every tree was a factory," and when the negroes had any thing to sell, they signified it by kindling a fire. Here, also, was the principal scene of "panyaring;" that is, of enticing a negro into a canoe, or other defenceless situation, and then seizing him. The extent of this

practice may be inferred from the fact, that it had a name by which it was universally known. A negro was hired to panyar a fine girl, whom an English captain desired to possess. A few days after, he was panyared himself, and sold to the same captain. "What!" he exclaimed, "buy me, a great trader?" "Yes," was the reply, "we will buy any of you, if any body will sell you." It was given in evidence, that business could not be transacted, if the buyer were to inquire into the title of those from whom he bought. Piracy, too, added its horrors whenever the state of the world permitted, and, as we shall have occasion to show, was rampant when Liberia was founded.

Factories, however, were gradually re-established and fortified; but not till the slave trade had nearly depopulated the coast, and thus diminished the danger. Two British subjects, Bostock and McQuinn, had one at Cape Mesurado. In June, 1813, His Majesty's ship *Thais* sent forty men on shore, who, after a battle in which one of their number was killed, entered the factory and captured its owners. French, and especially Spanish factories, had become numerous.

A large proportion, both of the slave ships and factories, were piratical. By the laws of several nations, the trade was prohibited, and ships engaged in it liable to capture. They therefore prepared to defend themselves. The general peace which followed the downfall of Napoleon, left many privateers and their crews out of employment, and they engaged at once in piracy and the slave trade. In 1818, Lord Castlereagh communicated to the ambassadors of the leading powers of Eu-

* *Rees' Cyclopaedia*, Art. *Assiento*. The statement may be slightly inaccurate. The treaty, or "convention," with Spain in 1739, stipulated for the payment of £95,000, and the settlement of certain other claims, the amount of which was still to be ascertained.

rope, a list of eighteen armed slavers lately on the coast, of five vessels taken and destroyed by them, and of several battles with others; and these were mentioned only as specimens.

The natives, notwithstanding the evils which the slave trade inflicted upon them, were infatuated with it. In 1821, the agents of the Colonization Society attempted to purchase a tract for their first settlement at Grand Bassa. The only obstacle was, the refusal of the people to make any concession towards an abandonment of that traffic. In December of that year, a contract with that indispensable condition was made for Cape Mesurado. The first colonists took possession, January 7, 1822. In November of the same year, and again in December, the natives attacked the colony in great numbers, and with an obstinate determination to exterminate the settlers, and renew the trade at that accustomed spot. In April and May, 1823, Mr. Ashmun, governor of the colony, went on business along the coast about 150 miles, to Settra Kroo. "One century ago," he remarks, "a great part of this line of coast was populous, cleared of trees, and under cultivation. It is now covered with a dense and almost continuous forest. This is almost wholly a second growth; commonly distinguished from the original by the profusion of brambles and brushwood, which abounds amongst the larger trees, and renders the woods entirely impervious, even to the natives, until paths are opened by the bill-hook."

In May, 1825, Mr. Ashmun purchased for the colony, a fine tract on the St. Paul's. Of this he says: "Along this beautiful river were formerly scattered, in Africa's better days, innumerable native hamlets; and till within the last twenty years, nearly the whole river-board, for one or two miles back, was under that

slight culture which obtains among the natives of this country. But the population has been wasted by the rage for trading in slaves, with which the constant presence of slaving vessels and the introduction of foreign luxuries have inspired them. The south bank of this river, and all the intervening country between it and the Mesurado, have been, from this cause, nearly desolated of inhabitants. A few detached and solitary plantations, scattered at long intervals through the tract, just serve to interrupt the silence and relieve the gloom which reigns over the whole region."

The moral desolation, he found to be still more complete. He writes: "The two slaving stations of Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado have, for several ages, desolated, of every thing valuable, the intervening very fertile and beautiful tract of country. The forests have remained untouched, all moral virtue has been extinguished in the people, and their industry annihilated, by this one ruinous cause." "Polygamy and domestic slavery, it is well known, are as universal as the scanty means of the people will permit. And a licentiousness of practice which none—not the worst part of any civilized community on earth—can parallel, gives a hellish consummation to the frightful deformity imparted by sin to the moral aspect of these tribes." "The emigrants, from the hour of their arrival in Africa, are acted upon by the vitiating example of the natives of this country. The amount and effects of this influence, I fear, are generally and egregiously underrated. It is not known to every one, how little difference can be perceived in the measure of intellect possessed by an ignorant rustic from the United States, and a sprightly native of the coast. It may not be easily credited, but the fact certainly is,

that the advantage is, oftenest, on the side of the latter. The sameness of color, and the corresponding characteristics to be expected in different portions of the same race, give to the example of the natives a power and influence over the colonists, as extensive as it is corrupting. For it must not be suppressed, however the fact may be at variance with the first impressions from which most African journalists have allowed themselves to sketch the character of the natives, that it is vicious and contaminating in the last degree. I have often expressed my doubt, whether the simple idea of moral justice, as we conceive it from the early dawn of reason, has a place in the thoughts of a pagan African. As a principle of practical morality, I am sure that no such sentiment obtains in the breast of five Africans within my acquaintance. A selfishness which prostrates every consideration of another's good; a habit of dishonest dealing, of which nothing short of unceasing, untiring vigilance can avert the consequences; an unlimited indulgence of the appetites; and the labored excitement*, and unbounded gratification of lust the most unbridled and beastly—these are the ingredients of the African character. And however revolting, however, on occasion, concealed by an assumed decency of demeanor; such is the common character of all."

This last extract was dated May 20, 1827, when Mr. Ashmun had been nearly five years in Africa, and in the most favorable circumstances for learning the truth.

And this horrid work was still going on. In August, 1823, Mr. Ashmun wrote:—"I wish to afford the Board a full view of our situation,

and of the African character. The following incident I relate, not for its singularity, for similar events take place, perhaps, every month in the year; but because it has fallen under my own observation, and I can vouch for its authenticity. King Boatswain received a quantity of goods in trade from a French slaver, for which he stipulated to pay young slaves. He makes it a point of honor to be punctual to his engagements. The time was at hand when he expected the return of the slaver. He had not the slaves. Looking round on the peaceable tribes about him, for her victims, he singled out the Queahs, a small agricultural and trading people, of most inoffensive character. His warriors were skillfully distributed to the different hamlets, and making a simultaneous assault on the sleeping occupants, in the dead of night, accomplished, without difficulty or resistance, the annihilation, with the exception of a few towns, of the whole tribe. Every adult man and woman was murdered; very young children generally shared the fate of their parents; the boys and girls alone were reserved to pay the Frenchman."

King Boatswain was not such an untaught barbarian as some may suppose. He began life without hereditary rank, served in the British Navy till he attained the rank of boatswain, and gradually arose among his own people by his superior intelligence and force of character. In September, 1824, he seized 86 more of the Queahs.

In August, 1825, the Clarida, a Spanish slaver connected with the factory at Digby, a little north of the St. Paul's, plundered an English brig at anchor in Monrovia harbor.

* Of this, in respect to both sexes, we might have produced disgusting testimony more than a century old, relating especially to this part of the coast. In this, as in other things, their character had evidently undergone no essential change.

Mr. Ashmun, with twenty-two volunteers, and the captain of the brig with about an equal force, broke up the factory and released the slaves confined in it. A French and a Spanish factory, both within five miles of Monrovia, uniting their interests with the Clarida, were soon after broken up, and their slaves released. The French factory had kidnapped, or purchased of kidnappers, some of the colonists, and attempted to hold them as slaves.

In 1826, the Minerva, a Spanish slaver, connected with some or all of the three factories at Trade town, had committed piracy on several American and other vessels, and obtained possession of several of the colonists. At the suggestion of Mr. Ashmun, she was captured by the Dragon, a French brig of war, and condemned at Goree. The factories at Trade town bought eight of the colonists, who had been "panyared," and refused to deliver them up on demand. In April, Mr. Ashmun, assisted by two Columbian armed vessels, landed, broke up the factories, and released the slaves. The natives under King West, then rose in defence of the slavers, and made it necessary to burn Trade town. The Colonial government then publicly prohibited the trade on the whole line of coast, over which it assumed a qualified jurisdiction from Cape Mount to Trade town. In July, a combination to restore Trade town was formed by several piratical vessels and native chiefs. July 27, the brig John, of Portland, and schooner Bona, of Baltimore, at anchor in Monrovia harbor, were plundered by a piratical brig of twelve guns, which then proceeded to Gallinas and took in 600 slaves.

"The slave trade," Mr. Ashmun wrote about this time, "is the pretext under which expensive armaments are fitted out every week from Havana, and desperadoes enlisted for

enterprises to this country; in which, on their arrival, the trade is either forgotten entirely, or attended to as a mere secondary object, well suited to conceal, from cruisers they may fall in with, their real object. Scarcely an American trading vessel has for the last twelve months been on this coast, as low as six degrees north, without suffering either insult or plunder from these Spaniards."

The batteries for the protection of Monrovia harbor were immediately strengthened, the Trade town combination was of short continuance, and the growth of the Colony soon changed the character, both of the coast and its visitors.

Would the non-resistance policy of William Penn have succeeded better? It has been tried. The Pennsylvania Colonization Society commenced an unarmed settlement at Bassa Cove, about the end of the year 1834. King Joe Harris sold them land to settle upon, and professed to be their cordial friend. In a few months, a slaver arrived. Harris had slaves for sale; but the slaver would not trade so near a settlement of Americans. This finished the temptation which Harris had already begun to feel. He fell upon the settlement in the dead of night, killed about twenty of the colonists, and while the remainder fled to save their lives, plundered their houses. A singular fact shows that he was not only fully and minutely acquainted with their peaceful character, but that he was encouraged by it to make the attack. One of the colonists owned a musket, and another sometimes borrowed it; so that Harris could not know in which of their houses it might then happen to be. He therefore refrained from attacking either of those houses.

Would purely missionary establishments be more secure? This also has been tried. The Methodist station at Heddington, on the south

bank of the St. Paul's, about 20 miles from Monrovia, was of that character. Gatumba, king of those lately known here as Mendians, and whose strong hold was about two days' march north-east from Monrovia, had in his employ, Goterah, a cannibal warrior from the interior, who, with his band of mercenary desperadoes, had desolated many native towns, and taken hosts of slaves for his employer to sell. He was evidently a remnant of the Giagas. One night in 1841, he made an attack on Heddington. His threats, to plunder the mission property, take the children in school for slaves, and eat the missionary, had been reported at Heddington, and arms had been procured for defence. After an obstinate contest, Goterah was shot while rushing, sword in hand, into the mission-house. His followers were soon seized with a panic, and fled. Among the camp equipage which they left, was a kettle, which Goterah had brought with him, to boil the missionary in for his breakfast.

The experiment was tried again. The Episcopal missionaries at Cape Palmas imagined that the peace and safety in which they had been able to live and labor for several years, were in no degree owing to colonial protection; and they resolved to act accordingly. They commenced a station at Half Cavally, about 13 miles east of the Cape, among the natives, but within the territory of the colony; another at Rockbokah, about eight miles farther east, and beyond the limits of the colonial territory; and another at Taboo, some 17 miles beyond Rockbokah. In 1842, some of the natives near these last named stations seized the schooner Mary Carver, of Salem, murdered the captain and crew, and plundered the vessel. The perpetrators of this outrage soon became known to Mr. Minor at Taboo, and

Mr. Appleby at Rockbokah. To guard against exposure and enrich themselves, the chiefs entered into a conspiracy to kill the missionaries and plunder their premises. The missionaries, being aware of the design, were on their guard, and its execution was deferred to a more convenient opportunity, and, as Mr. Appleby supposed, was at length abandoned. Meanwhile, Mr. Minor died. The natives within the colonial territory agreed to force the colonists to pay higher prices for provisions, and prepared for war. Early in December, 1843, Mr. Payne, at Half Cavally, finding himself surrounded by armed natives, from whom his life and the lives of his family were in danger, sent to Cape Palmas for rescue. When his messenger arrived, the United States squadron had just come in sight. A vessel was immediately sent for his relief. A force was landed, he and his family were escorted to the shore, taken on board and conveyed to Cape Palmas. On proceeding eastward, to punish the murderers of the crew of the Mary Carver, the squadron took off Mr. Appleby from his dangerous position at Rockbokah. The presence of the squadron soon induced the natives to make peace with the colony; but for several weeks it was supposed that the Cavally station could never be safely resumed. The school at Rockbokah is still continued, under a native teacher, and perhaps Mr. Appleby may yet return to it, as the natives think that his presence will be, in some degree, a pledge of peace.

We may then consider it as proved by facts of the plainest significance, that up to the commencement of this present year, 1844, unarmed men, whether colonists or missionaries, white or black, native or immigrant, could not live safely in that part of the world without colonial protection.

— (*To be continued.*)

Colonization.

**WHY WILL NOT OTHERS "GO AND DO
LIKEWISE" FOR THE CAUSE OF COLO-
NIZATION?**

The following extract of a letter from an esteemed minister of the gospel, and a pastor in the interior of the State, accompanied by a collection from the people of his charge in behalf of the Colonization Society, exhibits the spirit which we so devoutly desire to see pervading all our churches, and the great community.

"DEAR SIR:—We made our effort for the Colonization Society a few Sabbaths ago, and the result is hereby transmitted. It is the want of means, not of a disposition, that has prevented our doing more." (The contribution was, relatively, a very liberal one.) "I have rarely felt more the want of a mint or a mine to go to than when the claims of that Society have been before me. There are many fast friends of the cause in this region, and there would be many more, if its merits could be properly represented. It suffers by reason of having withdrawn so much from the field. Mutual confidence between the Society and the public has in this way been weakened. Each has felt itself deserted by the other, and an impression has been too common, that the cause has been given up even by its friends, as not justifying the expectations formerly entertained of it. Its enemies have been numerous and noisy, and as there has been no advocate on the ground to support its claims, the charges brought against it have gone uncontradicted, and the community, acting on the principle that silence gives consent, have had their confidence shaken, and have suspended effort. I regret that you cannot visit every town and county in our State. I believe you would find more friends

than you imagine, and perhaps *make* more than you find. In some places where you have been, I have reason to know the effect has been most salutary. We ought to have county organizations, to rally the friends of the cause and to concentrate their efforts. What the public mind needs, is light, and if one-half of the funds of the Society were expended in diffusing information, it would occasion no loss to the cause."

We are fully aware of the justness and pertinency of some of the remarks of our valued correspondent. This righteous and blessed cause has indeed retired or withdrawn too much from the field. But if every pastor had had the zeal and moral courage of our worthy correspondent, colonization *would not* have been so little before the public as it is now. The withdrawal has not been *altogether voluntary*. It has been *exiled* from many pulpits in this State; in some cases, as a well-meant, though we think *mistaken, peace-offering*, to a spirit that has not been appeased or satisfied by the sacrifice; and in others, it has been left out through the combined influence of apathy and of groundless fears of disastrous agitation.

We believe that if "the merits" of this cause could be properly represented to pastors, and they were really in possession of the facts which characterize its present condition and prospects, it would be welcomed again to their pulpits as "ranking," in the language of the lamented Sherman, "with the most important benevolent institutions of this century."

If pastors would contemplate the colony of Liberia in the light in which the providence of God has placed it, as the most active and efficient agency yet discovered for the

civilization and *Christianization* of Africa—if they would think of the wise and well-ordered civil government there administered now wholly by *colored* men, and with fifteen thousand of the native tribes already under its salutary laws—if they would think of the *twenty-three* Christian churches there, with fifteen hundred communicants, nearly *five hundred* of whom are converts from the *native pagan tribes*—if they would think of the schools and seminaries of learning being founded there—of the physical resources and temporal prosperity of the colony at present, and of all the elements of a permanent social, political and religious influence which that young Christian commonwealth embodies, we are persuaded they would not, they *could not*, exclude this cause from their pulpits, under the plea that it conflicted or ever could possibly conflict in any way, with that sound, conservative, Christian philanthropy and benevolence which seeks the highest good of the *whole* African race.

We doubt not but that our esteemed correspondent has estimated too highly the influence of the Secretary's visits to places through the State. But be that as it may, he *cannot* visit every county and town in the State, and he would therefore avail himself

of this opportunity and this means of earnestly requesting other pastors in different parts of the country, to follow the example to which these remarks refer, and to send us their contributions to a cause whose merits are not exceeded even by its present pressing necessities. Were every pastor and people to do as much in proportion to their means as those above alluded to, our funds would soon bear a proper relation to our wants, and the much desired line of coast on the western shores of Africa would soon be ours, under colonial law, and forming an available platform for the settlement, institutions and extending enterprise of a civilized and Christian people.

Will not our individual patrons, too, receive an intimation from us at this time, volunteer their contributions, and save us from the delay and expenses of agencies? A little thought bestowed on this subject, a little prompt and generous effort on the part of our friends at this time, would furnish us the means of securing some objects of vital and permanent interest to our prosperous and promising colony at Liberia. Will the liberal devise liberal things, and respond to our appeal? We shall see.

D. L. CARROLL,
Cor. Sec., N. Y. S. C. S.

Despatches from Liberia.

MONROVIA, LIBERIA,
October 22d, 1844.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:—By the "Francis Lord," which left our port about the 12th ultimo, I informed you of my return to the seat of government, and of the condition of the immigrants whom I left at Greenville, and of those who arrived at this place in the ship "Virginia," on the 3d of August.

Since the date of my last letter, two more of the last immigrants have died, a very aged woman, named Hannah, and an old gentleman, named Benjamin Lawson. The latter made a will, and bequeathed all his effects to Abram Blackford. Two more of the immigrants by the "Lime Rock," have died—a woman about seventy years of age, named Judith, and a child about three years old. Nearly

all of the last company have experienced one attack, or more, of acclimating fever. None are on the sick list at present; and, with the exception of occasional slight attacks of intermittent fever, they are all enjoying good health. The Governor is making preparations for their removal to their future place of residence, on the St. Paul's river. About one-third of them have been going to school, during most of the time since their arrival; and several of them have made considerable progress in learning to read and write.

From my experience and observations, I am fully satisfied that forty-nine persons in fifty, if not ninety-nine in one hundred, who come from the United States to Liberia, might pass safely through the acclimating fever, provided their constitutions were not much impaired by previous disease; *and they could be prevailed on to exercise that prudence which is necessary.* Moderation in exposure and exercise, contentment of mind, and temperance in eating and drinking, and in the use of physic, are *sine qua non*s to the enjoyment of health in this country. These precautions should especially be observed during the first six or eight months. And, if they were always observed by new-comers, whether white or colored, I believe that the proportionate number of deaths would be at least one-half, if not three-fourths less than it has been heretofore. One of the late immigrants had several relapses, in consequence of intemperance in eating; and, after having become exceedingly feeble, he consented to abstain from every article of food except that which I sent to him; and, through the kindness of Governor Roberts' lady, he was regularly furnished for four or five days, with such things as I directed. The poor fellow thought

that his prescribed diet was very slim in proportion to his appetite; but he stuck to the pledge, and a restoration to health was the consequence.

My own health is remarkably good at present—only two chills within the last two months. I still have occasional ephemeral fevers, which generally go off kindly, when not fed too much.

I received the medical books, (sixteen volumes,) which were presented by Dr. Bell, of Philadelphia, for the use of the Liberia Medical School. Although I did not receive any information respecting them, except the notice in your last letter, yet I intend to address Dr. B. a letter of thanks. Such presents will always be gratefully received.

My students are making fine progress in their studies. They are of very considerable assistance to me, and I hope and believe that they will become blessings to the colony. I endeavor to give them every opportunity to learn practically, as well as theoretically, by frequently taking them with me and giving them clinical lectures.

Yours sincerely,
J. W. LUGENBEEL.

REV. W. McLAIN,
Sec'y Am. Col. Society.

MONROVIA,

October 23d, 1844.

DEAR SIR:—We arrived safe at Monrovia on the 1st inst., after a passage of 43 days, including 3 days spent at Porto Praya. On my arrival, I found every thing quiet and the affairs of the Society progressing in their regular order.

The emigrants by the Lime Rock and Virginia are all doing well, the

former at Sinou, and the latter for the present at Monrovia. Preparations are being made for their reception up the St. Paul's river, where I expect to be able to remove them now in a few days. Those at Sinou are already on their farms and doing well. Dr. Lugenbeel speaks of them as a very industrious and enterprising company, and a great acquisition to that part of the colony. The Doctor has been exceedingly successful in carrying them through the acclimating fever—of the two companies, but five have died; and of that number, but one grown person.

I called at Porto Praya, but could not succeed in obtaining mules for the colony. I saw but one on the island, which belonged to the French consul, and could not be purchased. I shall send to Sierra Leone, in a few weeks, to procure two or three good horses, so as to commence operations at the farm in earnest—without animals, it is utterly impossible to cultivate any thing here to advantage. Most of the farmers in Liberia have been accustomed to the use of the plough, and, in its absence, have become discouraged. I am determined, sir, if such a thing is possible, (and I believe it is,) to introduce the plough at once.

I have just been informed that the king, chiefs and head-men of the New Cesters territory are disposed to sell their country to the Americans, and as no time should be lost in acquiring it, as two grand objects will be gained, viz: that of extending our territory along the coast, and extinguishing forever the slave trade between Monrovia and Cape Palmas. I have this day sent a commissioner to treat with them for the purchase of their territory, and wish him success with all my heart.

Business is exceedingly dull all along the coast, and particularly so at the settlements. This is somewhat owing to the great quantity of rain that has fallen the present season. Goods are plenty, and selling in the colony almost at American prices.

Business will no doubt improve in a few weeks, when the rains will have ceased, so that the people from the interior can pass down to the beach.

I am, sir, respectfully,
Your ob't servant,
J. J. ROBERTS.

To

REV. W. McLAIN,
Sec'y Am. Col. Society,
Washington City, D. C.

Africa an important portion of the Field of Christian Missions.

"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," is the great missionary command of our Lord. The world, then, is the field of missions, and each portion of it can present its own distinct claims to our charitable regard as a part of that field. And, as the world is divided naturally into five grand divisions, and each of these vary much

from each other, it can hardly be supposed that the claims of each do not differ much from those of the other. Now, we are not going to make any invidious comparisons, we have no intention of placing beside each other, Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, north or south, that we may strike a balance in favor of any one; but we do wish to present the claims

of Africa, as being no mean ones, to be regarded as a most important part of the great sphere of Christian missions.

Africa, to say nothing of its comparatively large extent, is not, by any means, an unimportant portion of our earth. Physically, it appears the first favorite of the great Creator.

*"A land, of every land the pride,
Beloved by heaven o'er all the world beside."*

Its soil most abounds in the richest productions; its birds are of the most various, beautiful, and noble species; and its minerals of the most valuable kind.

*"Africa's sunny fountains,
Roll down their golden sands."*

But we would speak more especially of its moral features. It is emphatically the home of the colored race, and as such, chiefly, it presents its high demand for the gospel and its attendant blessings. If the colored man has any right to these privileges—if he has any title to challenge them at our hands, then has Africa her claims, and she makes them in the name of all the race. It is true, indeed, this portion of the human family is “a nation scattered and peeled;” and to the four winds of heaven have been exiled the natives of Africa. And now, because under every sun they toil, bearing “the heat and burden of their day,” some may suppose they are a people without a country—and it is so? Are they an anomaly in the world?

*"And is the Negro outlawed from his birth?
Is he alone a stranger on the Earth?
Is there no shed, whose peeping roof appears,
So lonely that it fills his eyes with tears?"*

No land whose name in exile heard, will dart,
Ice thro' his veins and lightning through his heart?
Ah! yes, beneath the beams of brighter skies,
His home amidst his fathers' country lies.”

As is Palestine to the wandering Jew, such is Africa to the exiled colored man: it is his own, his native land. But, what is of special importance to be remembered, is, that it is only in his home that he can be approached by us with the gospel under favorable circumstances. Only there, he exists as a man, might almost be said; certainly, only there in a condition in which a man should be found, in order that the gospel may do for him all that is in its power. It is only in Africa that the full experiment of the adaptation of the gospel to elevate him can be made. And, besides, the largest number of the race are yet congregated there. After all the draining and murders of the slave trade, it is estimated that one hundred, or an hundred and fifty millions, yet populate their own country. If then, these can be extensively blessed, elevated, and saved, the whole race must be affected, and all the exiles must also be made to rejoice.

He who designs to purify the waters of the stream most effectually, and speedily, acts wisely in beginning at the fountain head. So, also, he who would benefit a nation most successfully, must seek out, not its wanderers and scattered fragments, but its source and the place of its residence. The influence which may there be exerted, like that which

should touch the heart in the living frame, shall soon spread itself until it reaches the extremities of the body. Hence, we are fully persuaded that the friend of the colored race, who desires to bestow upon it the most extensive and speediest benefits, will attain his end most surely by laboring to bless the millions yet in their own land. The claim, therefore, of Africa for the blessings of the gospel may, in a most important sense, be considered as that of the whole of her children, both at home and abroad; as that of a whole race of the human family. Yes! Let Africa be regenerated and who can doubt that her sons, afar off, and her daughters, in the ends of the earth, shall begin to rise from the dust and feel the benign influence of her elevation and sanctification. Let Africa take her place, through the gospel's power, amongst Christian nations, and the African will every where obtain his place amongst men. If the truth can be made to appear in that long degraded land, that its inhabitants are not inferior, or at least so inferior as some may suppose, the influence of this alone will, while it shall speak to the colored man every where in tones of encouragement and consolation, place him in the eyes of mankind on new vantage ground. Thus shall be removed, if ever it can be, the oppressive incubus which loads down, and paralyzes his energies, while he is found amongst those with skins "not colored like his

own." Or, if this may not be, yet will he not be induced, beholding the glory of his own land, to make it his abode, and thus the exiles be all again gathered?

If, then, the claims of Africa be one and the same with those of all the race, we must so estimate them. And what are those claims? They are those of millions of the most wronged, injured, and debased of mankind. There is no necessity that proof should be produced on this subject. Every wind and wave of the ocean, every land, and every kindred and tribe under the whole heavens, are swift witnesses to reveal the truth. Every wind has borne the groans of the African, every wave has heard his cries, every land has drunk in his blood, and every kindred and tribe has oppressed him. Oh! with what a voice do his protracted, various, and aggravated injuries plead at the court of Heaven against the world! And yet it has not been enough that the world should league against him, but hell itself has seemed to open her widest gate against him also. Is it not she who has added to chains forged out by human hands, the not less entralling spiritual bonds of the lowest superstition? No where does superstition of so depositing a character, prevail as in Africa: and the whole land mourns under its corrupting, horrid havoc. Such is the condition of the millions whose claims are embodied in that of Africa. And, assuredly, if the neediest may make the

most imperative demands upon Christian charity, hers shall not be all in vain. Oh ! she seems to bow herself low in the dust of her humiliation, and pointing to her millions, in body lacerated, chained and worn out with toil, in spirit enshrouded, corrupt, and miserable, the most wretched of the human family, she presents the strongest plea which the world has ever heard. She calls on all Christian nations for Heaven's great remedy for human woes, the gospel. She calls on all ; but when she turns to us, does not her plea grow peculiarly powerful ? Does she not demand benevolence of the American Christian as tenfold her due ? America has shared largely in the infliction of her wrongs, and ought she not, therefore, to be foremost and most diligent in stretching out the hand of mercy ? But many will be ready to admit all we say in regard to the great necessity which exists, that Africa should feel the redeeming agency of the gospel, but, still cherishing the belief that there is not much hope of her redemption, may suppose that other lands may, on this score, have prior and greater claims. The husbandman will turn away from the barren land, he will not plough or sow in the thankless desert ; in such places he will not expend his labor ; at least, until all his productive fields have been cultivated. So, if any part of the great missionary field be, evidently, and hopelessly, a waste which will yield to no cultivation, it may properly be

left untouched until other and more promising parts are filled with the good seed. But is such the case in Africa ? Is there indeed but little hope of the redemption of her millions ?

On the contrary, there is much hope, and we behold in her a field of rich promise. If we had no other reason for so thinking, we have, at least, the sure word of prophecy. True, indeed, there is a curse recorded : "Cursed be Canaan ; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." But who has ascertained that this curse is to cover the whole space from the deluge to the conflagration ? Is there no millenial time, when even the seed of Ham shall commute a protracted curse for the blessings of the Messiah ? Ah, yes, the prophets declare : "In him shall all the families of the earth be blessed ;" and, as if to make assurance doubly sure, it is also written : "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God ;" and again : "From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, my suppliants, even the daughter of my distressed, shall bring mine offering." The time, then, certainly hastens on when the day of Africa's redemption shall brightly dawn.

But, apart from prophecy, there are other considerations which peculiarly encourage the hope of benefiting Africa through missionary labors. And here we shall adopt the words of the Christian Advocate. The editor, in speaking on this subject, uses the following language :

Africa, where the success which has already crowned our efforts, is beyond anything which our fondest anticipations had reached ; and when this success, great as it has been, has only afforded a glimpse of that which lies before us if we faithfully improve our advantages. Here, God has placed tribes and nations in our hands, who are calling us, instead of waiting to be called. Away in the interior, the savage heathen people have heard of the white man's God, who is proclaimed on the sea coast—and already they ask to be taught the message of mercy and love which came down from heaven. We repeat it, that nothing but men and means are wanting to bring all the tribes of Africa, south of the great desert of Sahara, into the obedience of the Gospel within a very few years. Even the present generation may be converted ; but if not, the rising generation are ready to be trained in schools, and to be made Christians, so far as they can be made so, by a Christian education. Consider for a moment the circumstances in which the people of whom we speak differ from other heathen nations, and which favor their conversion by the agency of missionaries. First, then, they have no national religion, or religious establishment. Where this exists, it opposes a formidable obstacle to the Gospel, however absurd may be the superstition so established ; for the secular interests of the priesthood urge them to resist any change of the national religion, and they necessarily possess great influence with the people. The missionary must, under such circumstances, expect to encounter hate and persecution proportioned to the danger with which the religion he teaches threatens the priests.

Secondly. In Africa, the kings, and their official functionaries, lose no secular advantages by embracing Christianity. On the contrary, they are even raised by it in the estimation of their heathen countrymen. In many, and, perhaps, in nearly all other heathen countries, to embrace Christianity is to become obnoxious to priestly revenge, to popular hate, and civil oppression.

Thirdly. The Africans already look upon the white man as their superior, and hence desire to imitate him. The very ability to read and write gives dignity and importance to a colored man among them, and they express their admiration by calling him a white man. It would follow, of course, that they embrace every opportunity to place their children in the schools where it is proposed to teach them to read and write. We might point out many other circumstances which place the people of Africa in a most favorable state for the success of Christian efforts to civilize and Christianize them ; but those we have

mentioned offer encouragements too strong to be resisted by those whose hearts are in the work.

But we must not omit to mention that God, in his providence, has established Christian colonies along the western coast of Africa, composed of emigrants from our own country, and in which we have churches, whose piety and Christian deportment are spoken of throughout the world.

In the last paragraph, allusion is made to the beginning of the evangelization of Africa through the means of colonies. On this point, did time and space permit, we should like to enlarge. The colonization scheme removes the chief and peculiar difficulties which seemed to oppose the entrance of the gospel into Africa. Missionary operations there have apparently, heretofore, been almost precluded, because the savagery of the people has led them to destroy the unprotected missionaries, and because the climate is destructive to the life of white men. But a colony of colored people are secure against both of these evils, and presents itself as an army of effective missionaries. The door is now, therefore, open. The field is now prepared for Christian beneficence ; and Africa, by the claims of a whole race, by the wrongs, injuries, and degradation of that race, beyond all others, and by the peculiar facilities thus afforded for the introduction of the gospel, is proven to be a most important portion of the field of Christian missions.

One word in conclusion, every argument which can be used for the evangelization of this country, speaks strongly for the colonization scheme. For it is through it alone,

that Africa can be reached by the white race. Under the shadow of its wing alone, can the missionary live and labor; or rather, to it must the land look for those who are to live and labor for it. All, therefore, of Africa's claims for the gospel, are embodied in those which are urged by the Colonization Society; and where the latter pleads, it only ut-

ters the voice of that dark land suing for redemption. Let the Christian listen and respond to these pleadings. They are the cry of one, not from Macedonia, but from Africa, saying, "come over and help us." May we not assuredly gather that the *Lord* hath *thus* called us to preach the gospel unto Africa.

An Objection Examined.

THE friends of colonization are sometimes told, "Your object may be good enough, but you never can accomplish it. The whole commercial marine of the United States is not sufficient to take away even the annual increase of the colored population." And this is asserted by intelligent men, with perfect confidence, as the result of arithmetical calculation.

To such an objection we might answer: "What of that? We have never undertaken nor expected to remove the annual increase of the colored population. It is enough for us if we remove so many as to confer invaluable benefits on two continents, and prepare the way for immensely greater emigration than any society can conduct."

But it may be well to look for a moment at the objector's arithmetic. Perhaps there is some mistake in it. The numbers are as follows:

Slaves in the U. S. in 1840, 2,487,355

" " 1830, 2,010,436

Increase in 10 years, - 476,919

" 1 year, nearly, 47,692

Free colored persons in '40,	386,235
" " "	319,599
Increase in 10 years, -	66,636
" 1 year, nearly,	6,664
Add ann. increase of slaves,	47,692
Annual increase of colored people, - - -	54,356

By law, a vessel is allowed to take three passengers for every five tons of her measurement. The same vessel might make three trips to Africa annually; and, carrying three persons to every five tons at each trip, would carry nine persons to every five tons in a year. At this rate, the tonnage necessary to remove the annual increase of the colored population would be nearly 30,197 tons.

The actual tonnage of the United States, in 1843, was 2,158,602 tons.

One seventieth of this, is 36,837 tons.

One *seventieth part* of "the whole commercial marine of the United States," therefore, is more than sufficient for the removal of the annual increase.

But again: The colored population in 1840, was—

Slaves - - -	2,487,355	At two trips - - -	2,590,324
Free - - -	386,235	At two trips & a quarter	3,237,905
Total - - -	2,873,590		
The commercial marine of the United States, at three passengers for five tons, might carry—		So it appears that "the whole commercial marine of the United States" is more than sufficient to carry away the <i>whole colored</i> population of the United States in a single year.	

At a single trip - - - 1,295,162

Honorable Roger Minott Sherman.

SINCE our last number was issued, we have come into the possession of a fact relative to the interest which the late lamented ROGER M. SHERMAN felt in colonization, which we cannot withhold from our readers. We stated then that Mr. Sherman had left a bequest to this Society of \$4,000. Of this sum, \$2,000 is bequeathed in the body of the will, and \$2,000 in a *codicil*. We have since learned, from an intimate friend of his who is acquainted with the facts, that "*the last time Mr. Sherman ever wrote his name was in his signature to that codicil.*"

What a sublime testimony is this of the high estimation in which he held this great benevolent enterprise. He had been its firm friend and able advocate through its whole existence, and during his active life. Now, when he is sinking under a disease, which, while it *rapidly* destroyed, inflicted not one pang on his physical frame, and left his mind clear and strong, and bright as at its noon-day splendors—in the bosom of his family, surrounded by the friends of

his youth and the companions of his age, he remembers this cause in the most substantial manner.

Our correspondent says: "There is also another fact attesting his fervent attachment to the colonization cause, which I will add:

"A few weeks ago, the consociation of the western district of Fairfield county held a called meeting at Southport, a village in the county of Fairfield, for the purpose of ordaining and installing the Rev. Mr. Merwine over the church and congregation in that beautiful village. Mr. Sherman was very anxious to attend that meeting for the purpose of urging the colonization cause upon the attention, the prayers, the sympathies, and the liberality of the ministers and churches of this consociation. Although very weak, he ordered his horse and gig; but when it was brought to the door, he found himself unable to make the attempt, and was compelled, though reluctantly, to relinquish it. This was the last time he gave such an order to his coachman, or attempted to go out."

To this interesting fact, it is not necessary for us to add a single word. It will cause us, if possible, to cherish the memory of his name and invaluable worth with more intense plea-

sure. MR. Sherman's whole character was one of remarkable loveliness; and his life one of enlarged usefulness; and his death one of glorious triumph.

Items of Intelligence.

DESPATCHES FROM LIBERIA.—In another column will be found extracts from letters of Gov. Roberts and Dr. Lugenbeel. They contain the latest intelligence that we have received from the colony. Some extracts from these letters were given in the Annual Report; but they are of such importance that we insert them again in this place, hoping that our friends will see the necessity of immediate and efficient action in regard to the purchase of some of the remaining points of territory.

OPINION IN THE SOUTH.—We have lately received a letter from Professor H. Tutwiler, of La Grange College, in Alabama, of which the following are extracts:

"From an occasional perusal of the Repository, I have been brought to feel a considerable degree of interest in the affairs of this Society. I wish the paper sent to my address; and I have this morning enclosed to the Treasurer, through the postmaster of this place, ten dollars, as the first payment of my annual subscription. It is my firm conviction that there is no benevolent enterprise of the day which more strongly recommends itself to the consideration of every lover of his race. If the success of any measure be any criterion of its deserts, surely the colonization scheme occupies high vantage ground in this respect. Con-

sidering its very limited means, and the amount of obloquy, opposition, and slander it has had to encounter, it has certainly achieved wonders. I cannot but think that if the objects of this Society were better understood, so far from encountering opposition, a host of zealous friends would rise up in its support, particularly in the South. The people of the South are a benevolent and magnanimous people, and nothing is wanting to enlist their sympathies and aid in this cause but to bring the subject properly before them. I think I can see, in the signs of the times, a return of those better feelings which prevailed on this subject before the Abolitionists commenced their officious intermeddling."

ON the 3d of January, a society was formed at Springfield, styled the Illinois State Colonization Society, and appointed the Rev. R. S. Finley their agent. They authorized him to form auxiliary societies in different parts of the State, and adopted some efficient measures by which the Repository is to be sent gratuitously to every clergyman in the State who is willing to receive it the present year.

They adopted the following constitution:

ART. 1. This Society shall be called the Illinois State Colonization Society.

ART. 2. Its object shall be the diffusion of information, and the

collection of funds to aid in the benevolent enterprise undertaken by the American Colonization Society, (to which this Society shall be auxiliary,) to wit, of establishing upon the western coast of Africa a colony, peopled by volunteer emigrants from the free colored population of the United States.

ART. 3. All persons contributing one dollar, annually, shall be members of this Society.

ART. 4. Its officers shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Corresponding and Recording Secretary, and Treasurer, and twelve Managers, who, with the President, Secretary, and Managers, shall constitute a

Board (any five of whom shall constitute a quorum to transact business) to carry into effect the objects of this Society; said officers shall remain in office until their successors are duly appointed.

ART. 5. There shall be an annual meeting of the Society, in the city of Springfield, on the evening of the 2d Monday of December, or at such other time and place as the Society may order and appoint for the election of officers, and for the transaction of such business as may come before it, and for the reception of the annual report of the Treasurer, and also of the Board of Managers.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,
From the 1st February, to the 26th February, 1845.

RHODE ISLAND.

<i>Slaterville</i> —Mrs. Ruth Slater, W. S. Slater, and Amos D. Lockwood, each \$10, H. S. Mansfield, S. R. Beals, and G. Johnson, each \$1, Rev. T. A. Taylor, \$2—\$35, of which \$30 is to constitute Rev. T. A. Taylor a life member of the American Colonization Society.....	35 00
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CONNECTICUT.

<i>New London</i> —Jona. Coit, Esq., last payment on his \$1,000 subscription.....	100 00
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VIRGINIA.

<i>King George</i> —Dr. Benj. F. Slooe, \$3 50, a little boy, 6 cts.....	3 56
<i>Amelia</i> —J. G. Jefferson, \$2 50, Miss Matilda Booker, \$2 50, W. J. Barksdale, \$5, Mrs. M. E. Barksdale, \$5, Wm. H. Harrison, (for the purchase of territory,) \$5, Dr. Bonister, \$2 50, E. G. Leigh, \$5, Mrs. S. Bonister, \$2 50, Thomas Meaux, \$1 12, cash, 50 cts., J. E. Liegh, \$5.....	36 62

<i>Powhatan</i> —Miss L. A. Donne, \$1, Philip St. George Cock, \$5.	6 00
<i>Cumberland</i> —Cash, \$5, do, \$1, by Edgar Janvier, Esq.....	6 00
<i>Halifax C. H.</i> —Miss Sarah Bruce, \$50, Rev. J. Grammar, \$20, per Rev. J. Grammar.....	70 00

ALABAMA.

<i>La Grange</i> —Prof. H. Tutwiler, annual subscription.....	10 00
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KENTUCKY.

<i>Covington</i> —Balance of subscriptions, per W. Ernst.....	23 00
<i>Louisville</i> —Ladies' Col. Society, per Miss M. McNutt, Tr.....	55 00

78 00

OHIO.

<i>Urbana</i> —Miss Sophia E. Zwisler, \$4 00	4 00
<i>Columbus</i> —Ladies' Col. Society, \$47 00	47 00
<i>Cincinnati</i> —Judge McLean.....	25 00

75 00

By H. L. Hosmer, Esq., as follows:

<i>Norwalk</i> —C. S. Latimer, \$5, J. M. Root, \$1, C. S. Boalt, \$1 50.	7 50
<i>Mansfield</i> —R. Rowland, \$2, J. Purdy, J. Eminger, R. McComb, B. P. Mercer, F. Cook, H. McFall, W. S. Frost, M. R. Teegarden, Andrew Conn, each \$1, J. W. Abernethy, Geo. W. Waring, J. Hammer, W. B. Bowman, cash, cash, each 50cts.	14 00

<i>Newark</i> —Collection in church of Rev. Wm. Wylie.....	9 25
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<i>Columbus</i> —J. Ridgway, jr., \$10, A. J. Bennett, J. N. Whiting, L. Goodale, each \$5, S. Clark, \$3, A. M. Button, J. Greenwood, J. Whitehill, & S. Quimby, each \$2, A. H. Pinney, W. Amos, F. A. Thompson, M. Bartley, ea. \$1.	40 00
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<i>Steubenville</i> —Rev. C. C. Beaty,	
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122 18

[March, 1845.]

Hans Wilson, each \$10, Hon. H. H. Leavitt, \$2, John Abraham, cash, Wm. McLaughlin, ea. \$1, V. Owesney, cash, ea. 50c.	26 00	1845, \$1 50. <i>Westborough</i> —Rev. A. Harvey, Chas. E. Kimball, George N. Sibley, S. M. Griggs, and Jabez G. Fisher, for 1845, each \$1 50, Rev. Chas. B. Kittredge, to 1845, \$3, M. Chapin, C. P. Green, and Chas. Morse, for 6 months, each 75cts.	53 00
<i>Plain</i> —Collection in Rev. B. Woodberry's church.....	2 00		
	174 75		
		PENNSYLVANIA.— <i>Philadelphia</i> —Benj. Naglee, to '45, \$4, A. B. Rockey, Wm. Parker, Isaac C. Jones, Dr. J. W. Paul, B. W. Richards, Mrs. Spohn, A. M. Buckley, J. Strawbridge, John Hackley, J. M. Sellars, G. Sharwood, J. S. Pringle, Michael Reed, John Elliott, Dr. Geo. B. Wood, Josiah White, and S. H. Perkins, for 1844, each \$2, John Vaughn, Esq., for 3 copies, for 1844, \$6.....	44 00
INDIANA.		DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.— <i>Arlington House</i> —Mrs. Custis, for 1845.....	1 50
<i>Rising Sun</i> —“A friend.”.....	20 00	VIRGINIA.— <i>Battletown</i> —Mrs. S. E. T. Stribling, to Feb., 1847, \$3. <i>Amelia co.</i> , Tavern P. O.—Rev. Benj. M. Hobson, for 1845, \$1 50. <i>Lodore P. O.</i> —Wm. M. Harrison, for 1845, \$1 50.....	6 00
<i>New Albany</i> —Collections by Rev. J. B. Pinney, in the first Presby. church, Rev. Mr. Stewart's, \$41, in the Meth. Epis. church, Rev. Mr. Culbertson's, \$1.....	42 00	TENNESSEE.— <i>Blountsville</i> —Sam. Rhea, for 1845.....	1 50
<i>Lawrenceburg</i> —Hon. G. H. Dunn,	1 65	KENTUCKY.— <i>Danville</i> —Mrs. Judith Fry, Mrs. Rhodes & Carpenter, Mrs. Welch, Mrs. Henderson & Deer, Mrs. Rachel Craig and Mrs. Batterton, Mrs. Virginia Shelby, Dr. John Todd, and J. A. Jacobs, Esq., for 1845, each \$1 50.....	12 00
	63 5	OHIO.— <i>Uniontown</i> —John Lyle, to May, 1845, \$2. <i>Norwalk</i> —John R. Osborn, Charles L. Boalt, and C. L. Latimer, for 1845, each \$1 50. <i>Chillicothe</i> —Rev. Wm. T. Findley and J. S. Atwood, Esq., for 1845, each \$1 50. <i>Xenia</i> —Jas. Galloway, Sam. Galloway, Jas. Gowdy, Dr. Banks, Jas. McMillan, and John Vaneton, for 1845, each \$1 50. <i> Circleville</i> —J. Hempshire, and John Nisbit, for 1845, each \$1 50. <i>Steubenville</i> —Hon. H. H. Leavitt, for '43 & '44, \$3.	24 50
ILLINOIS.		INDIANA.— <i>Lawrenceburg</i> —Hon. Geo. H. Dunn, to 1845.....	3 00
<i>Lewistown</i> —Collection by Rev. J. B. Crist.....	10 00	Total Repository.....	149 00
For freight in the Virginia, per Jas. Hall, M. D.....	200 00	Total Contributions.....	1,493 58
Proceeds from sale of the Society's reversionary interest, in bequest of mill and land attached, by the late Jas. Madison...	700 00	Aggregate Amount.....	\$1,642 58
FOR REPOSITORY.			
VERMONT. — <i>Bennington</i> —Lyman Patchin, for 1845, \$1 50. <i>Weathersfield</i> —W. Jarvis, for 1844, \$2.....	3 50		
MASSACHUSETTS. — <i>Ware Village</i> —Pepper and Wetherell, Francis De Witt, and George H. Hudson, for 1845, each \$1 50. <i>Belchertown</i> —Cordial Crane, and Rev. G. A. Oviatt, for 1845, each \$1 50, Dwight Graves, balance, 50 cts., C. H. Dwight, balance, \$3 50. <i>Hadley</i> —Dr. Wm. Porter, to Jan., '45, \$3 50. <i>Springfield</i> —R. A. Chapman, for 1844, \$1 50, John Hooker, balance, \$2, Henry Adams, for 1845, \$1 50, Simon Sanborn, to 1846, \$3. <i>Palmer</i> —Rev. M. K. Cross, for 1845, \$1 50. <i>Warren</i> —John Patrick, for 1845, \$1 50. <i>Sutton</i> —S. J. Woodbury, and Maj. Dan. Tenney, for 1845, each \$1 50. <i>Wilkinsonville</i> —Maj. John McClellan, Leonard Woodbury, Erastus Walcott, and John W. Gamble, for 1845, each \$1 50, Harvey Dodge, for 6 months, 75 cts. <i>West Milbury</i> —A. Wood, and Simon Waters, for 1845, each \$1 50. <i>East Douglass</i> —Dea. Warren Hunt, for			

NOTE.—In the Receipts for last month, the following names were accidentally omitted in the Kentucky list, viz: John C. Brown, Stephen Mozes, Philemon Bird, and William C. Hanna, each \$5.





Fifteen Thousand Dollars Subscription to complete the purchase of the Seaboard adjacent to Liberia.

A GENTLEMAN IN NEW YORK AUTHORIZES US TO SAY, THAT HE WILL BE ONE OF FIFTEEN, WHO WILL GIVE ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS, EACH, FOR THE ABOVE NOBLE PURPOSE.

A GENTLEMAN IN WORCESTER, MASS., HAS PLEDGED ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS ON THE ABOVE SUBSCRIPTION.

TWO LADIES IN WORCESTER, MASS., HAVE PLEDGED ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS ON THE ABOVE SUBSCRIPTION.

A GENTLEMAN IN PITTSBURG, PA., HAS PLEDGED ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS ON THE ABOVE SUBSCRIPTION.

WE ARE AUTHORIZED BY A RESPONSIBLE GENTLEMAN IN HAMPSHIRE COUNTY, MASS., TO SAY THAT HE WILL GIVE FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS TOWARD THE PURCHASE OF THE TERRITORY.

N O T I C E S.

ALL remittances in money should be made to the Rev. W. McLAIN, Secretary and Treasurer American Colonization Society, Washington City.

Those who wish to make bequests to the American Colonization Society, can best secure their object by using the following form, viz : "I give and bequeath the sum of — dollars to A. B., *in trust*, for the American Colonization Society," &c.

The African Repository will hereafter be issued regularly on the 1st of every month, from this city, at \$1 50 per annum, payable in advance. The work is now owned by the American Colonization Society. The profits are wholly devoted to the cause of Colonization.

The African Repository is sent gratuitously :—

To every Auxiliary Society which makes an annual remittance to the American Colonization Society.

To every clergyman who takes up annually a collection to aid the American Colonization Society.

To every person obtaining three new subscribers, and remitting the money.

To every individual who contributes annually ten dollars or more, to the funds of the American Colonization Society.

To every life-member of the American Colonization Society, for the three years after he becomes such.

Clergymen who have taken collections in their churches the past year, but who have not received the Repository, will please forward their names and their residences.

Persons who wish to discontinue the Repository, are requested to give the town, county, and state, in which they reside.

Officers of Auxiliary Societies will please act as agents in receiving subscriptions to the Repository, and forward subscribers' names, and the money received, by mail, through their Postmaster.

Secretaries of Auxiliary Societies will please forward their names and residences, that they may be furnished with such documents and papers as may be on hand for distribution.

The payment of thirty dollars constitutes a person a life-member of the American Colonization Society, and entitles him to a certificate of life-membership.

Persons who have not received certificates of life-membership to which they are entitled, will please give information by mail.